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The states of British America and the  
United States: freedom of trade and union of interests.



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# HUNT'S

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## COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

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### Art. I.—THE STATES OF BRITISH AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES:

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FREEDOM OF TRADE AND UNION OF INTERESTS.\*.

THERE is a larger free, white population in the States of British North America, than there was in the United States when they declared themselves independent. The population of those provinces was then about 250,000. It is now about 2,500,000. In 1776 the United States did not probably contain more than 2,800,000 inhabitants, of whom nearly half a million were slaves. Our figures are necessarily a little conjectural, but probably within the truth. The first official census of the United States was not taken until 1790, when the population was 3,929,326, including 629,697 slaves.

The population of the Provinces of British America at the two periods of our comparison may be pretty accurately stated as follows:—

Lower Canada.....	1848	770,000	1784	113,000
Upper Canada.....	1848	723,292	1791	50,000
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.	1848	279,800	1783	32,000
New Brunswick.....	1848	210,000	1787	12,000
Newfoundland .....	1845	96,606	1805	26,505
Prince Edward.....	1841	47,033	1806	9,676
Total.....		2,126,731		243,181

Adding for increase since the dates of the table, and for the population of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, and we have the population as stated, which, we have reason to believe, is in fact rather understated. Mr.

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\* Report on the Trade and Commerce of the British North American Colonies with the United States and other countries, embracing full and complete tabular statements from 1829 to 1850. Presented to the United States Senate by Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury, (Prepared by J. D. Andrews, Esq., U. S. Consul, New Brunswick,) Washington, 1851.

Montgomery Martin estimates the population of Western or Upper Canada, in 1849, at 750,000; of Nova Scotia in 1850 at 300,000; of Prince Edward Island at 55,000.\* We have no regular and careful census returns for our authority. There should have been a census of Eastern Canada in 1848, according to law, but it seems to have been omitted.† Our figures are taken from the very able and valuable "Report on the Trade, Commerce, and Resources of the British North American Colonies," prepared by J. D. Andrews, Esq., United States Consul at St. John, New Brunswick, and communicated to the Senate by the Secretary of the Treasury. This voluminous collection of statistics embraces statements from 1829 to 1850, relative to the Fisheries, the Mines, Minerals, and Light-houses, and the Trade and Commerce of the Canadas, of Nova Scotia, of New Brunswick, of Newfoundland, of Prince Edward Island, the Trade and Commerce of the Lakes, and also miscellaneous returns of population, tonnage, shipping, and foreign trade. The statements are collected and arranged with unusual care and skill, and are as authentic and accurate as can be expected in the absence of a thorough system of statistics in the United States and in the Provinces. We shall be rejoiced when Congress shall see fit to establish a Bureau of Statistics, such as that proposed and ably advocated by Hon. Zadoc Pratt, some years ago, in the House of Representatives—a truly statesmanlike measure; some system, at any rate, with the necessary governmental appliances, for the regular and careful collection of facts relating to our trade, agriculture, and manufactures.

If our statesmen knew how much such a measure would lighten and enlighten their own labors and inquiries, as well as those of the *Merchants' Magazine*, they would hardly allow another session to pass without some such enactment.

The general reader who is not a professed Political Economist, will find most matter of interest in the report of Mr. Andrews, prefixed to the tables, which is something more than a mere index, or introduction to the statistics. After a historical sketch of English legislation on colonial trade, since the Revolution, Mr. Andrews gives a summary view of the present state of colonial trade, both with England and America, under the new Navigation and Corn Laws of Great Britain, and then, in conclusion, broaches an important measure of commercial policy, proposed by the Canadian Government to our own. This measure is nothing less than reciprocal free trade in breadstuffs and other natural products. The notion that this measure would hurt the grain-growers of this country, is combatted with much force. There certainly seems little danger to our farmers from competition in our own market; in the foreign market no protection can protect them from Europe or Canada. However all this may be, that this measure would be a natural political result, that it is *with* and not against the current of political affairs in the Provinces, both as regards their domestic policy and their relations with the United States, must strike every one who reads the colonial history of the last eighty years. He must be struck at once with their rapid and substantial growth, their steady progress in liberal government, and at the same time with the constant tendency to fusion, not of laws, but interests, the growing assimilation in trade and in ideas, with their neighbors across the lakes, which has accompanied this material and political growth.

We have noticed the increase of their population. By the census of

\* The British Colonies, p. 109.

† The results of the census of Canada, just taken, have not yet been made public. According to the *Journal de Quebec*, the population of both Canadas, by the census, will be 1,800,000.



1850, the population of the United States was 23,257,723 ; it has therefore increased about eight-fold since the peace of 1783, or in seventy years.

The colonial increase has been about ten-fold. Increase in numbers, however, is but one phase, one branch of national growth. It is the effect—it is the cause, also, of growth of every kind—commercial, agricultural, industrial. It is the index of political health, also. And all this progress has been coincident with, and it is owing, we are persuaded, to like political causes, and to like natural advantages, as that of the United States.

We call the States of British America, Colonies. That word no longer describes the footing upon which they stand ; the position of political and commercial independence to which the course of events during the last eighty years has been gradually bringing them. Free and sovereign States they cannot be called ; but the modern idea of a colony implies subjection and dependence. Such was the colonial relation under the system which began when Columbus first set foot on San Salvador, and the distinguishing feature of which, according to Say's rather hasty classification of colonies, was that they were planted with the mere temporary purpose of enriching adventurers, who had no design of permanent settlement, but intended to return home as soon as their fortunes were made.\* The British Provinces are rather colonies, according to the ancient idea ; such colonies as those with which prolific Greece lined the shores of the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean. "If treated kindly, a colony will honor the mother country ; if treated unjustly, it will become estranged. For colonies are not sent out to become the slaves of those who remain behind, but to be their equals."† Such was the proud language with which a Greek colony in the days of Pericles checked the arrogance of its *metropolis*, or *mother city*, and the words of the ambassadors of Coreyra to the Athenian people, embody the spirit of the ancient colonial system. But both systems, ancient and modern, have had their day. The modern colonial relation reached its maturity a hundred years ago. It began to decay in 1776. The revolutionary war was the first decided symptom of its decay. It has been gradually sinking ever since the independence of the United States. But that event was the result of political causes not confined in their operation to the English colonies. They were at work in South America, as well as North America. In less than fifty years after the peace of 1783, all the States of South America fell away, at a blow, from a state of colonial dependence. How long that blow had been preparing, the suddenness, the completeness of the change fully showed. Nothing had been wanting but the signal and the opportunity ; and Napoleon's seizure of Spain was all that was needed to precipitate an event that must have come in the *political* order of nature.

Within five years from the 1st of August, 1823, when Bolivar's iron hail beat down the Spanish ranks of La Serna, at Ayacucho, in Peru, there was not an European colony in all the continent of South America, except the little settlements of Guiana ; and the British Provinces are all that remain on the continent of North America. How far they are an exception to the spirit of the rule, a glance at their progress in liberal principles of government, at the constant and ever increasing spirit of liberality and concession which has animated the legislation of England, both in matters purely political, and, in particular, on affairs of trade, from the revolution to this day,

\* Say's Political Economy, Book I., C. XIX.

† Thucydides, B. I., § 34. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, I. p. 113.

at their growth in trade and industry, and the progress of internal improvements, which have accompanied this political emancipation, will amply show.

The 4th of July, 1776, marks an epoch for the States of British America as well as for the United States. The same thing, indeed, may be said of many other and more distant nations. France, Constitutional Germany, the States of South America, may all date from the 4th of July, for the revolution, certainly one of the most fruitful events in history, furnishes a point of historical departure for every one of them. But of the Canadas, this is especially true. Their political and material development began with our own. Although their *external* political relations remained the same, the northern colonies entered with us upon a new career at the revolution. A brief review of colonial history will show how. And here it may be interesting to go a little further back and more fully into details than Mr. Andrews has done.

One of the first measures of Congress, at the beginning of the war, when the fearful odds impressed upon them the necessity of strengthening their position in every quarter, was to issue an address "To the oppressed inhabitants of Canada," calling upon them to make common cause with their brethren of the United Colonies. The address, which was issued on the 29th of May, 1775, produced some effect. But the British government had already foreseen this danger, and the disastrous consequences of losing so important a basis of military operations as the northern provinces afforded. Simultaneously, therefore, with the system of coercive measures—beginning with the Boston Port Bill—adopted towards the United Colonies, began a policy of concession and indulgence towards the Canadas, the first measure being the famous Quebec Bill. That bill, if it drew the Canadas closer to England, and saved them to the crown, only served to widen the breach with the United Colonies, and, to add to political animosity, the bitterness of religious feeling. The bill was directly framed to catch the French and the Catholic sympathies and interests of Canada. The population at that time was of almost unmixed French descent. In fact, of the present population of the Canadas, about 600,000 are of French origin, and nearly unmixed French blood. Wolf's triumph on the Heights of Abraham relieved them of the despotism of the Intendant of Louis XIV., Bigot, but little or nothing had been done to provide them with a regular form of government, until policy prompted such measures as the Quebec Bill. This policy will account for what otherwise seems inexplicable, that the Canadians, a people of French blood, of Catholic faith, were precisely those colonists whose fidelity to their heretical rulers was least shaken. The Quebec Bill made political concessions amply sufficient to satisfy men instructed in no higher principles of political liberty than their fathers brought with them from the France of Louis XIV. But what was of most consequence, the act, at the same time that it restored the *Coutume de Paris*, the French system of procedure, and the French language in civil matters, made ample concessions to the religious opinions of the French, abolished the oaths of abjuration and supremacy, and substituted a modified oath of allegiance.

This is a *Catholic chapter* in the history of the United States, which may be read without bitterness or regret. But the bitterness of feeling, which this measure at the time caused in the Protestant hearts of America, found its lightest expression in caricature, which represented Quebec sitting in triumph on its heights, on one side, and on the other Boston in flames, while, in the foreground, a Roman Catholic priest is kneeling with uplifted crucifix



in one hand and gibbet in the other, apparently presenting to an honest American yeoman, armed only with a club, an alternative which John Bull is enforcing with a blunderbuss.\* The bill was entitled a bill "For making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, in North America." It established a Legislative Council, with every power but that of levying taxes, the members of which were to be appointed by the crown. Canadian Catholics were entitled to sit in the Council. The Catholic clergy, with the exception of the regular orders, were secured in the exercise of their religious duties, and in the enjoyment of their tithes. Colonel Barré thought he detected in the scheme a plan "to raise a popish army to serve in the colonies," and from his place in the House of Commons warned the ministry that in such case "all hope of peace in America will be destroyed. The Americans will look on the Canadians as their taskmasters, and, in the end, their executioners." Intrinsically just as these concessions, religious and political, doubtless were, it was the motive of policy lurking beneath which led Congress to denounce the Quebec Bill in the Declaration of Independence, as an attempt to abolish "the free system of English laws in a neighboring province," and which led the people of the colonies to brand the ministry as *papists and enemies to the Constitution*.

Whatever the motive, the concession was made; and it was the fruit of American resistance. The first step in colonial freedom was gained through the American Revolution, which in fact began to bear its fruits for Canada sooner than for ourselves. Independence came: political separation from England brought with it, of course, political separation from the colonies on the north of our great Mediterranean lakes. They became to us foreign States; and all laws, including those of trade and navigation, in force between foreign nations, controlled our relations with the colonies. The same prohibitory navigation system, the same restrictive tariff, weighed down our Commerce with them as with England.

And yet, at this moment of almost utter separation, we were, in one sense, nearer having entire reciprocity of trade than we ever were since.

"Immediately after the conclusion of the preliminary articles of peace in November, 1782," says Mr. Andrews, "Mr. Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced into the House of Commons (March, 1783) a bill for the regulation of trade and intercourse between the people of Great Britain and of the United States, which, had it been adopted, would have laid a broad foundation for a perpetual peace and harmony between the two countries.

"This bill, after declaring in the preamble that the thirteen United States of North America had lately been solemnly acknowledged by the king to be free, sovereign, and independent States, proceeded first to repeal all the statutes of regulation or prohibition of intercourse which had been theretofore enacted. It then recited that the ships and vessels of the people of the United States had, while they were British subjects, been admitted into the ports of Great Britain with all the privileges and advantages of British built ships; that, by the then existing regulations of Great Britain, foreigners, as aliens, were liable to various commercial restrictions, duties, and customs, at the ports of Great Britain, which had not been applicable to the inhabitants of the United States.

"The following remarkable language is contained in the bill:—

"And whereas it is highly expedient that the intercourse between Great Britain and the United States should be established on the most enlarged principles of reciprocal benefit to both countries, but, from the distance between Great Britain and America, it must be a considerable time before any convention or treaty

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\* Lossing's Pictorial Revolution, where the caricature may be found engraved.

for establishing and regulating the trade and intercourse between Great Britain and the United States of America upon a permanent foundation can be concluded: Now, for the purpose of making a temporary régulation of the Commerce and intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States of America, and in order to evince the disposition of Great Britain to be on terms of the most perfect amity with the said United States of America, and in confidence of a like friendly disposition on the part of the said United States towards Great Britain,' &c., &c.

"The bill then proceeded with a clause to regulate the commercial intercourse between the United States and the island of Great Britain only, and it was precisely the same system of regulations which, after a lapse of more than thirty years, was established by the convention of 1815, and which is still in force."

"With respect to the intercourse with the colonies, *that* was to be settled on principles equally liberal.

"The following were the provisions of the proposed bill with respect to the colonies:—

"*And be it further enacted*, That during the time aforesaid the ships and vessels of the subjects and citizens of the said United States shall be admitted into the ports of his Majesty's islands, colonies, and plantations in America, with any merchandise or goods of the growth, produce, and manufacture of the territories of the aforesaid United States, with liberty to export from his Majesty's islands, colonies or plantations in America, to the said territories of the said United States, any merchandise and goods whatsoever; and such merchandise and goods which shall be so imported into, or exported from the said British islands, colonies or plantations in America, shall be liable to the same duties and charges only as the same merchandise and goods should be subject to if they were the property of British natural-born subjects, and imported or exported in British-built ships or vessels, navigated by British seamen.

"*And be it further enacted*, That during all the time hereinbefore limited there shall be the same drawbacks, exemptions, and bounties on merchandise and goods exported from Great Britain into the territories of the said United States of America, as are allowed in the case of exportation to the islands, plantations or colonies now remaining or belonging to the crown of Great Britain in America."

Had the same wise Whig councils which terminated the war, prevailed, the revolution would thus have immediately brought about results which we have since seen gradually effected. Almost entire reciprocity would have been at once established. But the times were not yet ripe.

While the British cabinet clung, with a tenacity made a little obstinate, perhaps, by the event of their belligerent policy, to a system of restrictions upon colonial navigation, and to the exclusion of foreign shipping from colonial ports, the success of the revolution was deemed anything but a reason for abandoning the *political* policy of the Quebec Bill. The Provinces had as yet nothing like representative government. Parliament, eager to repair the mistakes committed in the southern colonies, made haste to supply the deficiency, and Mr. Pitt's Act, or the Constitution of 1791, as it was called, was more successful than his proposition for "equal reciprocity" in 1782. The system of government thus organized remained in force until 1840. By this act the division into Upper and Lower Canada was first made. The executive power was vested in a governor named by the crown, an executive council appointed for life and a legislative council, which was not elective, and was legislative only in name. The legislative assembly was elected by a restricted suffrage.

In July, 1840, by chapter 35 of the 3 and 4 Victoria, the division of the Canadas was done away, and a government of the united provinces of East and West Canada established. The leading features of the new government

are much the same as those of the old, so far as the formal arrangements of government go. Within a few years, governments have been organized in all the provinces on very much the same basis. The assembly is elective, the suffrage being restricted by a property qualification. But in a country like Canada, where land is very cheap and very plenty, there is little in this restriction that is practically exclusive, or undemocratic in practice, however offensive to American ways of thinking, in principle.

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, have in like manner their governors appointed by the crown, their executive councils, their legislative councils, and legislative assemblies. Cape Breton sends its quota to the Assembly of Nova Scotia; and in Newfoundland, under the government organized in 1832, something very like universal suffrage prevails. Every tenant of a dwelling, even for one year, is a voter, according to the scheme of suffrage which Mr. Hume has the honor to annually propound to the laughing Senate of England.

But it is not so much in the formal arrangements of the governments, that the political progress of the Provinces is to be sought, as in the principles of administration now recognized, in the spirit and character of the people, in the vital changes that have gradually been brought about with regard to the control of finances, and of the supplies and the control of trade.

The growth of the British Provinces has been a growth of the people. Every new farm cleared and gained from the wilderness has been so much added to the strength of the popular element of legislation. So long as the popular will and the executive will, as expressed through the council which derived its power from the crown, were in harmony, all was well. But in case of collision, which was to yield? How to accommodate the popular element to an executive power independent of the people, without compromising their liberties; how to shape the executive authority so as to conform to the popular will, without breaking down the colonial relation, has been the great difficulty in the British Provinces, ever since growing wealth and population have given them the feeling and pride of a State. It must be the difficulty with all colonies that pretend to free government, for the colonial relation is itself *pro tanto* an infringement of the principle of free government. It is something very different from the monarchical element in a mixed government like the English. The executive in Canada means a legislative as well as executive control *outside* of the country—not an integral portion of the domestic constitution. It is this difficulty which has been at the root of all the internal troubles of Canada.

The new organization contains no formal provision that we are aware of, to meet it; but it is understood to be now a settled rule of State, that the ministry and chief officers of government are to conform to the rule of the legislative majority, in analogy to the change of ministry in England. This, we believe, is what is termed in Canadian politics the principle of *responsible government*. If faithfully carried out, it is obvious how great an advance upon the narrow control of executive cliques and "family compacts" this principle must prove, although it would hardly satisfy our American predilections for written guaranties.

But our topic is now the commercial, rather than political progress of the Provinces. It is often among the affairs of trade that the progress of modern liberty is most distinctly traced. Modern revolutions turn oftenest upon questions of taxation and public economy, and the rule is the same whether the revolutions are sudden and by the sword, or gradual and without the rupture of formal relations.



The English Navigation System, a system, in effect, as harsh towards British colonies as foreign powers, was at its hight, when Pitt made his heroic but unsuccessful attack upon it.

The Navigation Act, in effect, closed the ports of the Provinces to American, now become foreign shipping. The Provinces themselves could import only in British ships, only from British territory.

Another effort for reciprocity was made soon after the failure of Mr. Pitt's Bill; the overture, destined often to be repeated by us in vain, came from the United States. It was made in 1785 by Mr. Adams, our Minister at the Court of St. James. He proposed to place the trade and navigation between *all the dominions* of the crown and all the United States on the basis of entire reciprocity.\* The British Government declined this and any other proposition. "You may depend upon it," wrote Mr. Adams from London, in October, 1785, "the Commerce of America will have no relief at present, nor, in my opinion, ever, until the United States shall have generally passed navigation acts. If this measure is not adopted, we shall be derided; and the more we suffer, the more will our calamities be laughed at."

But those were the days of the confederation, of union only in name, when there were thirteen sovereignties, not one federal government to make itself felt and respected abroad. So long as each State could enact its separate navigation and tariff law, there was little danger of an effective retaliation. If one State excluded, its neighbor might admit, and thus not only would the effect of the policy be weakened, but the difficulty of carrying it out be greatly increased through the multiplied facilities of evasion. So reasoned the merchants of America; so concluded the convention of Annapolis. And the Constitution arose, a beautiful form, from the scattered limbs of the confederacy.

There was all the difference in the world in the reception which the overtures of the United States now received. As early as September, 1789, (the year of the adoption of the Constitution,) a committee was appointed in the House of Lords, which was instructed to report what "proposals of a commercial nature it would be proper to be made" to the United States. In January, 1791, (the year of Pitt's Constitution for Canada,) this committee submitted a report, drawn up by Lord Liverpool. In regard to navigation, the only proposition recommended by the report was that "British ships, trading to the ports of the United States, should be there treated with respect to the duties on tonnage and imports, *in like manner* as the ships of the United States shall be treated in the ports of Great Britain."

But "if Congress should propose," adds the report, "(as they certainly will,) that this principle of equality should be extended to the ports of our colonies and islands, and that the ships of the United States should be *there* treated as British ships, it should be answered that this demand cannot be admitted *even as a subject of negotiation*."

But even the degree of liberality exhibited in the report failed to influence the commercial intercourse of the two countries, and from 1783 to 1815 the exclusive system was kept up. There were, however, some interruptions. From 1783 to 1788, trade with the United States was placed by orders in council on the footing of foreign Commerce and trade between the United States, and the colonies was restricted to a small number of articles, and confined to British ships exclusively. In 1788 these regulations were con-

firmed by statute. Jay's treaty of 1794 made no change in our relations with the colonies. In 1806 failure again attended an attempt to arrange the trade between the colonies and the United States. The embargo effected by a violent operation what negotiation had been vainly endeavoring from 1783 to 1807 to bring about—the admission of American vessels into the ports of the English colonies. War put a stop to the colonial trade in English vessels; the trade had become so valuable, so necessary to the colonies, that England was compelled to allow it in American vessels, and the ports of the Provinces were opened.

The convention of 1815 seems to have been dictated, on the part of England, by the very policy indicated by Lord Liverpool's report, both in what it granted and what it withheld. It established reciprocity and freedom of navigation between "the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe" and the territories of the United States, and extended also certain privileges in the Indies. But the coasting trade was carefully reserved, as is likewise the case with the navigation act of 1849. And there the convention stops. Admission of our ships into colonial ports does not, in fact, seem to have been even "*the subject of negotiation.*" In this way was secured to England an advantage which this same report had pointed out twenty years before. An English vessel had the advantage of a double voyage—an open and a privileged one. It could bring a cargo from England to an American port, take a cargo to a colonial port, and from the colonial port sail with freight to England, or perhaps to the West Indies, and so home. Its American rival could not follow it in this profitable circuit. "The whole of this branch of trade," said Lord Liverpool, "may also be considered as a new acquisition, and was attained by your Majesty's order in council."

The following figures, from one of Mr. Andrews' tables, show the unequal working of this system, since 1830 :—

ABSTRACT OF TONNAGE, AMERICAN AND BRITISH, ENTERING AND CLEARING AT BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

BOSTON.

	AMERICAN VESSELS.		BRITISH VESSELS.	
	Entered.	Cleared.	Entered.	Cleared.
1829.....tons	9,896	5,918	none.	none.
1832.....	7,642	6,771	13,241	20,583
1835.....	8,580	9,493	30,996	34,149
1840.....	24,677	10,708	42,586	42,964
1845.....	15,825	18,390	87,403	102,382
1848.....	19,438	23,312	137,423	167,136

NEW YORK.

	Entered.	Cleared.	Entered.	Cleared.
1829.....tons	15,168	14,441	none	133
1832.....	6,556	4,502	16,094	35,045
1835.....	4,108	4,286	12,748	27,748
1840.....	5,111	8,067	14,918	34,290
1845.....	7,168	8,079	15,888	41,434
1848.....	4,509	8,337	42,171	128,669

This unequal advantage was a constant and just ground of complaint to American merchants, until the navigation act of 1849 swept away at once all ungenerous restrictions.\*

There had previously, however, been a partial relaxation of this restrictive



colonial policy. It was a frequent subject of diplomatic correspondence from 1815 to 1830.

"There has not been a moment," wrote Mr. Clay, when Secretary of State in 1826, to Mr. Vaughan, "since the adoption of the present constitution, when the United States were not willing to apply the principles of a fair reciprocity and equal competition; there has not been a time during the same period when they have understood the British Government to be prepared to adopt that principle. Though there now existed a virtual non-intercourse between the United States and the British colonies, yet there did not cease to be a mutual exchange of their respective products; or rather the export trade of the United States of commodities destined for the use of the British colonies continued, because it was necessary for the colonies to have those articles; and while the colonies could not receive them directly, they could and did indirectly, through the neutral islands of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, each of which became a sort of entrepot for our Commerce and that of the British Colonies."

Mr. Clay goes on with characteristic frankness to state that with the lower colonies, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, a very large illegal trade was also carried on, both by sea and across the boundary of Maine and New Brunswick. The existence of this contraband trade has always been a notorious fact.

Mr. Andrews' table of the coastwise imports and exports at Ogdensburg, the principal port of entry of the Oswegatchie district, in New York, is sufficiently significant:—

#### IMPORTS—1849.

Flour.....	bbls.	3,800
Coal.....	tons	2,500
Wheat.....	bush.	18,000
Salt.....	bbls.	10,000
Tea.....	chests	10,000
Dry goods, groceries, &c., estimated value.....		\$2,106,450
Total value of imports, estimated at.....		2,482,695

#### EXPORTS COASTWISE.

Starch.....	lbs.	190,000
Butter.....		700,000
Cheese.....		800,000
Total value of exports, estimated at.....		\$311,084

"The discrepancy," says Mr. Andrews, "between the value of imports and exports is accounted for by the fact of a large illicit traffic with Canada being in existence. Tea, tobacco, whisky, sugar, coffee, &c., imported coastwise into Ogdensburg, find their way into Canada—a moiety of which is only cleared at the Custom-house; and notwithstanding every precaution, horses, cattle, and a variety of articles, are smuggled into our territory in return."\*

Until 1830 England clung to her restrictive policy. While we were ready to give everything, England would only give half. While the convention of 1815 proposed freedom of navigation in all our territories, England restricted it to her territories in Europe. Congress was compelled, by acts of 18th of April, 1818, and 15th of May, 1820, to close our ports to colonial shipping.

Mr. McLean's negotiations finally effected the arrangement embodied in the order in council of November 6th, 1830, and the President's proclamation of the same month. American vessels are allowed to enter, load, and unload at certain colonial ports, and British and colonial vessels are admitted

\* Report, p. 516.

to the same privileges at the ports of delivery designated by a circular of Mr. Secretary Meredith in 1849.

What is the precise effect of the navigation act of 1849 upon the restrictions which the arrangement of 1830 still left upon colonial intercourse, we are not prepared to say, nor do we know that there has been any official declaration or announcement of the entire removal of the restrictions as to ports of entry. If, as we suppose, the effect of that act is to open all colonial ports as well as the navigation of the St. Lawrence, then it is the duty of our government, in the spirit of the rule of reciprocal equality which has guided our commercial policy, to sweep away the restrictions as to the ports of delivery which that same rule dictated in Mr. Secretary Meredith's circular.

Navigation and trade are the two great subjects of commercial legislation and arrangement. We have traced the progress of freedom in the Provinces, in regard to navigation. The growth of freedom of trade is equally marked. The restrictions of the British tariff, to which, at first, the imports and exports of the Provinces were entirely subjected, excluded foreign products, and particularly foreign manufactures, as rigidly as the navigation act excluded foreign shipping. Subject to the control of Parliament, the colonies imposed duties for revenue; but for a long period the receipts from this and all other sources were insufficient for the ordinary expenses of government and the military force maintained among them. The provinces were dependent upon England for the payment of their civil list. The territorial receipts from public lands were entirely insufficient to cover this outlay, or reimburse the home government. In 1806, according to Martin, the public income of Canada was £29,116, and the expenditure £35,134. Thus all control of the supplies, that great lever of modern liberty, was beyond the reach of the people of the Provinces. The business of legislation amounted to little more than municipal arrangements, like parish matters in England, like proceedings of Supervisors in New York. But the Provinces grew; population came; wealth came. The people became able, they were expected, they were willing, to pay for their own government. On the other hand, they naturally felt that they were entitled to the benefit and control of revenues from all sources, including the government lands. With the control of supplies, with the civil list to vote or not to vote, the Assemblies become a power in the State. We have already spoken of the political affairs of the Provinces, and we only return to the point again on account of their direct bearing on the regulations of trade. Tariffs are measures so mixed in their nature, partly political, partly commercial, enacted with the two fold purpose of controlling trade and raising revenue, that it is impossible to understand the course of commercial legislation without keeping in view the course of political affairs.

The policy of England admits and acts upon the fact of colonial growth and strength. It is only justice to say that the British cabinet is seldom now apt to be guilty of the mistake of acting with its eyes shut upon the progress of the world, and of being "too late." At the same time that English policy has removed the restrictions which swathed and choked colonial trade, it has also withdrawn the bounties and monopolies with which it was favored in its infancy. Discriminations in favor of colonial trade and ships, and discriminations in favor of English production at the expense of the Provinces, have alike disappeared.

Until 1843 the colonial tariffs discriminated in favor of British produce and manufactures. Lord Stanley's circular of June 28, 1843, put an end

to these discriminations, and marked the first era in the commercial legislation of the colonies. From that time the products of the United States entered the Provinces on the same footing as those of England and her colonies.

The next great step was taken in 1846. Chapter 94 of the 9th and 10th year of Victoria, is "an act to enable the Legislatures of certain British Possessions to repeal or reduce certain custom duties." It enables the Provinces, in effect, to enact their own tariffs. The Canadian Legislature has actually repealed (July, 1847) several English acts, and enacted a tariff of its own. The Provinces might, under this law, discriminate against each other. But a wiser spirit animates their councils. Since 1848, Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have enacted reciprocal tariffs on animals, grain of all kinds, timber, and many other articles. And there is now almost as complete free trade throughout the States of British America as between the United States.

In 1846, also, were passed the Corn Law, and the act regulating duties on timber, by which all discrimination in favor of colonial grain was abolished, and the monopoly of colonial timber in the British market destroyed.

On the other hand, by the Canadian tariff of 1849, all discrimination in favor of English products is done away.

The principle of the tariff, according to Mr. Andrews, is as follows:—

Agricultural products .....	20 per cent.
Manufactures .....	12½ "
Raw materials.....	2½ "
Groceries—specific .....	18 to 75 "

The rate of duties upon British manufactures is said to be 2½ per cent higher than was allowed by previous tariffs under the control of Parliament. On the other hand, colonial timber, as we have seen, lost its monopoly in the British market. In short, the policy of England in regard to trade seems to be to treat the Provinces as independent States; and this policy found its last and fullest expression in the Corn Law and Timber Act of 1846, which have done for colonial trade what the navigation act has done for colonial shipping. Together they have nearly completed the work of commercial emancipation.

In the United States the acts of legislation bearing most directly upon the trade of the Provinces, are the Tariff of 1846,\* the Warehousing Act† of August 6, 1846, and a law of the same year for the allowance of drawback on foreign merchandise imported from the Provinces, and of the "transportation of the same from ports of entry on the northern frontier by land and by water, to any port or ports from which merchandise may, under existing laws, be exported for benefit of drawback, and of export with such privilege."‡ The benefits of drawback and debenture, thus secured, remove all legal obstruction in the way of transit trade through the United States to and from the Provinces. The direct trade for domestic consumption is controlled by the Provincial tariffs and by our own. The rates of the Canadian tariff, upon manufactures in particular, are lower than those of the tariff of 1846. We charge, on an average, 23 per cent; their duty on manufactures is but 12½ per cent. A few figures will illustrate this difference. They show the duties collected under the Canadian tariff in 1849, and the

\* For the tariff see *Merchants' Magazine*, vol. xv., p. 300.

† For the act at length see *Id.*, p. 308, September, 1846.

‡ The act is given in the *Merchants' Magazine*, vol. xv., p. 309.



amounts that would have been received under the American act on the same articles :—

	Canadian.	American.
Sugars.....	£64,569	£37,551
Cottons.....	45,095	90,191
Woolens .....	23,786	57,088
Unenumerated articles.....	148,889	425,575*

What then are to be the future commercial relations between the United States and the States of British America? We have attempted to trace the past progress of the Provinces in government, in trade, and in navigation. Mr. Andrews' elaborate statistics exhibit with great clearness and fullness the course of trade, particularly with the United States, during the last twenty-three years. The future commercial policy to be adopted must be dictated by the wants and the products, the geographical position and facilities of communication of each, and we may add, by natural political sympathies and just feelings of good neighborhood. Is there anything in the colonial position of the Provinces to prevent a free choice of policy? Is there anything in the condition of either the States or Provinces which should determine that choice against the most liberal policy of trade?

If this commercial intercourse is free from foreign control, open to the natural laws of trade, and may be determined by the wants and products of each, it is time that we study each other's resources, that we inquire what the Provinces have to sell that we want to buy, and what wants of theirs we can supply.

The wealth of the Provinces is the natural products of the soil, the sea, and the forest. Their industry is mainly agricultural; and we are inclined to think their advantages of soil and climate have been generally underrated. There is, of course, great variety of climate in a region extending through 27° of longitude from Cape Race, the eastern extremity of Newfoundland, to Fond du Lac, the western end of Lake Superior, and from the latitude of Southern New York to Labrador. The Territories of the Provinces are not bounded with any certainty on the north. They are considered as extending to the region which divides the waters flowing into Hudson's Bay, from those running into the St. Lawrence, about the parallel 50° north. The rest of British America, with the exception of Lord Selkirk's settlement at Red River, west of Lake Superior, the vast region, stretching north and west so far as science can explore, or the enterprise of the Hudson's Bay Company's trappers can penetrate, belongs to the waste lands of the earth; those immense tracts, such as the plains of Siberia, and Tartary, the deserts of Africa, and wildernesses of South America, constituting a vast proportion of the earth's surface, which are never destined to become the seats of fixed and sedentary civilization.

Nor is there wanting any variety of production within the area of 500,000 square miles embraced within the limit of the Provinces. There are the codfisheries of Newfoundland; the bituminous coals, the gypsum, limestone, freestone, and iron of Nova Scotia; the immense pine forests of New Brunswick and Lower Canada, which make the waters of the St. John's, the Ottawa, and the Saguenay, the avenues of an immense and growing lumber trade; and there are the grain fields of Western Canada, rich in oats and wheat.

We can only very briefly review the imports and exports of each Province.

The wealth of Newfoundland is its fisheries. Dried codfish, fish oil, seal skins, and herrings are the leading articles of its export trade. The exports in 1848 and 1849 are given by Mr. Andrews as follows:—

QUANTITY AND VALUE OF STAPLE ARTICLES EXPORTED IN 1848 AND 1849.

	1848.		1849.	
	Quantities.	Sterling value.	Quantities.	Sterling value.
Dried fish.....quintals	920,366	£491,924	1,175,167	£588,728
Oil.....gallons	2,610,820	350,579	2,282,496	213,742
Seal skins.....number	521,004	58,426	306,072	33,780
Salmon.....tierces	3,822	6,597	5,911	10,815
Herrings.....barrels	13,872	7,644	11,471	5,671

The deals, ship-timber, and lumber of New Brunswick are its staple exports. We extract a few figures from Mr. Andrews' detailed statements, showing exports for the year 1849:—

Boards.....value	\$135,576
Deals.....	1,128,830
Shingles.....	29,184
Railway sleepers.....	71,793
Timber.....	976,449

The total exports amounted in value to \$2,824,636.

The chief items of the natural wealth of Nova Scotia are its coal, and gypsum, its wood, and its fish. In 1849 the value of these articles exported was as follows:—

	Quantities.	Value.
Coal.....chaldrons	35,527	£29,528
Fish, dry.....quintals	271,475	119,180
Fish, pickled.....barrels	201,490	137,024
Grindstones.....tons	10,330	6,993
Gypsum.....	46,960	6,383
Wood, deals, &c.....value	.....	18,925
Shingles, staves, and lumber.....	.....	56,642

From Cape Breton there were exported coals of the value of \$20,092.

Canada may take its place among the great wheat regions of America. We speak now of Canada West. When we think of the Canadas as a region of almost arctic climate, we forget that while it touches Labrador, on the north, the Peninsula of Canada West stretches down between Lake Huron and Lake Erie to latitude 42°, the latitude of Connecticut. Canada produces large quantities of oats also, and is rich in the products of the forest. The leading items in Mr. Andrews' tables of exports are oak timber, white and red pine, boards, plank and deals, ships' knees, spars of masts, pot and pearl ashes, butter and lard, flour and oats, horses and cattle.

EXPORTS IN 1849.

	Quantities.	Value.
Pine, white.....tons	325,920	£263,774
Pine, red.....	89,764	117,244
Plank and boards.....pieces	126,801	3,914
Spars and masts.....	16,264	12,974
Butter.....cwt.	1,623	5,657
Lard.....pounds.	4,320	98
Pork.....barrels	2,160	5,697
Flour.....	150,878	160,757
Oats.....	11,541	690
Deals.....pieces	2,229,743	105,556

Of these exports from all the colonies, a very large proportion went to



Great Britain. Out of £1,357,326, the total exports from the port of Quebec in 1848, £1,034,121 are for exports to Great Britain. The proportion in 1849 is £943,933 out of £1,044,101. Out of £460,769, the value of all exports from Nova Scotia in 1848, the value of exports to the British West Indies was £199,936. The total value of exports from New Brunswick in 1849 was £601,462, of which £463,814 were for exports to Great Britain.

The chief items of the *import trade* of Newfoundland, in 1849, were as follows:—

	Quantities.	Value.
Bread and biscuit .....	118,466 cwt.	\$420,283
Butter .....	14,288	205,473
Flour.....	103,648½ barrels	714,557
Goods and merchandise not enumerated..	.....	1,201,310
Timber.....	4,447,700 feet	44,606
Meat, (salt or cured).....	45,684 cwt.	261,106
Molasses.....	636,101 gallons	154,522
Tobacco, leaf.....	225,632½ pounds	14,035
Tea.....	297,741	69,945
Wine.....	18,990 gallons	15,312

In 1849 there were imported into New Brunswick of—

	Quantities.	Total value.
Wheat flour.....	52,873 barrels	£75,333
Rye flour.....	27,317	23,534
Indian meal.....	24,107	21,243
Wheat.....	175,385 bushels	39,935
Pork.....	7,246 barrels	27,464
Tea.....	87,821 pounds	12,247
Sugar, brown.....	18,992 cwt.	27,859
Rum.....	157,196 gallons	33,137
Molasses.....	274,027	25,368
Cordage.....	26,601 cwt.	64,319
Iron, wrought.....	2,066 tons	48,264
British and foreign merchandise...packages	12,520	400,918

The quantity and value of the chief imports into Nova Scotia, in 1848, are stated in Mr. Andrews' report as follows:—

	Quantities.	Value.
British manufactures .....	44,026 packages	£212,320
Bread and biscuit.....	.....	6,584
Fish, dry.....	74,225 quintals	32,344
Wheat flour.....	147,516 barrels	160,851
Rye flour.....	27,500	24,424
Molasses.....	8,747 puncheons	39,439
Corn meal.....	80,938 barrels	57,230
Sugar.....	5,472 hhds.	46,047
Tea.....	14,074 packages	31,442
Tobacco.....	3,943	10,685
Wheat.....	19,774 bushels	5,412

The statistics of Canadian imports for 1849 exhibit, of course, the heaviest business of the Provinces.

	£	s.	d.
Sugars, 103,689 cwt. 1qr. 5lbs.....	125,176	19	2
Molasses, 55,712 cwt. 1qr. 21lbs.....	19,535	6	8
Tea, 3,076,528 pounds.....	190,531	9	0
Cottons.....	360,765	19	7
Iron and hardware .....	296,413	11	4
Woolens.....	190,294	10	8

A glance at these figures shows a marked difference in the import trade of  
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the seaboard Provinces and that of Canada. Flour, wheat, and bread are largely imported into the former, while these items are very trifling in the Canadian import trade. The imports of breadstuffs into the Eastern Provinces are principally from the United States, carried thither in those circuitous voyages, doubtless, which are so advantageous to British shipping.

The total value of imports into Newfoundland in

		From G. Britain.	From U. States.
1829 was	£768,417 .....	£546,839	.....
1843 "	741,965 .....	335,289	£168,546
1848 "	769,628 .....	276,769	229,279
Total imports into Nova Scotia in 1848.....			£803,279
From Great Britain.....			256,638
From United States.....			277,841

TOTAL IMPORTS INTO NEW BRUNSWICK.

		From G. Britain.	From U. States.
1828 .....	£643,581	£295,526	£123,662
1838 .....	1,165,629	682,843	121,160
1848 .....	629,408	241,982	244,276

The chief items of this trade are wheat, flour, corn meal, bread, and tobacco.

Very different, as regards the nature of imports, are the features of the trade to Canada.

Total imports in 1849 .....	£3,002,599 12 4
From Great Britain.....	1,669,002 12 7
From United States.....	1,242,855 00 10

Of this very large importation from the United States the chief items are tea, tobacco, salt meat, cottons and woolens, iron and hardware, fruit and spices. The value of grains and flour is only £5,859.

But in the trade with all the Provinces there has been a marked and rapid increase in imports from the United States. They have grown rapidly upon the English trade, so that, as our figures show, while our exports to Nova Scotia in 1828 were less than as one to two, and to Newfoundland in 1829 amounted to nothing at all, in 1849 our exports to all the Provinces equal or surpass the English.

The tables also present a striking contrast between the imports of the Provinces, almost one-half of which came from the United States, and the exports, which have hitherto chiefly gone to England and the West Indies. Mr. Andrews states the total imports of all the colonies for 1840 and 1849 as follows:—

	1840.	1849.
Imports from Great Britain .....	\$15,385,166	\$11,346,336
Imports from United States.....	6,100,501	8,342,520
Total.....	\$21,485,667	\$19,688,854

In the year 1850 the total exports of Canada alone were \$13,287,996, of which nearly seven-and-a-half millions were exported by sea and went abroad, and of the residue, a considerable amount also were exports beyond the sea.

In fact, the products of the Provinces are too much like our own to find their largest and steadiest market in the United States. The most profitable trade is that which comes from diversity of exchangeable products. The lumber of Maine matches that of New Brunswick—the wheat of New

York the wheat of Canada—and even the fisheries of Newfoundland are rivaled by the labors of New England on its own banks; and yet there is a trade of no inconsiderable amount in products of the same kind between the Provinces and the States. Bread and breadstuffs form a large item of the imports into the Eastern Provinces, coming not directly from Canada, but from the United States. Convenience of communication by sea must account for this trade.

The imports into the Provinces are manufactures and the products of warmer climates. Manufactures have not so much as made a beginning in the Provinces. There is here a market, or the promise and prospect of a market, for our cottons, agricultural implements, and articles of domestic use, which needs only the fostering of a wise policy. As yet, the supply comes, in the main, from England. Moreover, while our States bordering upon the Provinces resemble them in climate, and produce all that they produce, our territory is not confined within the bands of the temperate zone: our dominions stretch down to where tropical heat prevails. We can supply the sugar and molasses, the tobacco, (we may yet supply the tea,) which form the bulk of their imports. Here is another opening to be improved by wise policy.

On the other hand, there are very large items of their import trade which we cannot supply. Wines, brandies, coffee, spices, must be sought in the foreign market by the Provinces as by ourselves. Again, the products of the Provinces, too similar to our own to find a steady market here, must, like our own, seek the foreign market.

Here, then, are two great branches of trade: the Domestic Trade between the States of British America and the United States in their own products, so full of promise for our manufactures and southern products, not unimportant for our grain and provisions in the Eastern Provinces; and on the other hand, the Transit Trade through the United States, of provincial products going to the foreign market, and of foreign products going back to the Provinces.

To increase this Domestic Trade, to attract this Transit Trade, must be the aim and interest of every American merchant—how it is to be done should be the study of every American statesman.

To and from the foreign market there are two routes of provincial trade, the one by sea through the seaboard ports and the St. Lawrence, the other inland across the American border and the Lakes. The St. Lawrence is the great channel of transit trade by sea. This river, perhaps the greatest natural feature of America, contains the largest body of fresh water in the world. Including the Lakes, which in fact are so many divisions of it, so many pearls of this glorious necklace, its basin covers nearly 1,000,000 square miles, while that of the Mississippi measures only 800,000 or 900,000 miles;\* but as a channel of communication with the sea and between distant points, the Mississippi has infinitely the advantage over its more beautiful rival.

At its mouth are the dense fogs which frequently delay navigation. Across the Gulf of St. Lawrence is the dangerous current or race from the Straits of Belle Isle to Cape Ray. The dangerous and inhospitable coast of Anticosti stands forbiddingly at the entrance. For 400 miles from the mouth to Quebec, the St. Lawrence affords a noble navigation even for ships-of-the-

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\* Guyot, *Physical Geography*.



line, and ships of 600 tons burden can go up to Montreal, which is 180 miles further inland; but the rapids beyond Montreal, between Cornwall and Johnston, render it unfit for any but flat-bottomed boats of 10 to 15 tons; and the Rideau Canal, which can receive boats of 350 tons, attests the liberal policy of the home government, and the enterprise of the people, in successfully obviating this serious impediment. Next is Niagara, that most magnificent and least to be regretted of all fatal obstructions to river navigation. Here, again, Canadian enterprise has been at work. The Welland Canal, 28 miles long by one branch, 21 miles by another, will admit vessels of 300 tons burden, and this, with the Rideau, the lake, and the river, furnishes a tolerable navigation from Lake Erie to Montreal, a distance of 367 miles, or four miles more than by the Erie Canal to tide-water on the Hudson, where freight is 150 miles from the ocean. At Montreal it has still 580 miles to go, to reach the sea. By the St. Lawrence Canals, the distance is somewhat less. These canals receive boats of about 100 tons capacity.

We will not go further up the St. Lawrence, or attempt the shoals of the Detroit, with only seven or eight feet of water, or the Falls of the *Saut St. Marie*, a monument of constitutional scruples and congressional neglect.\* The St. Lawrence, geographically a continuous river from *Fond du Lac* to the sea, is practically and commercially a series of detached lakes, not dividing, but uniting, through the potency of steam, kindred people on the opposite shores. Canal navigation has done much to remedy its defects as a channel of continuous navigation to the ocean. It has done still more by providing short cuts to the seaboard through New York, Ohio, and Indiana. But there is still another and a formidable difficulty which attends the navigation of the St. Lawrence to the sea. It has been remarked that the course of the river is in the direction of a great circle of the earth. It is, therefore, a very short transatlantic route, for instance, from Quebec to Liverpool. But this great circle bends very rapidly north as well as east. It runs between parallels  $47^{\circ}$  and  $50^{\circ}$ —a wintry latitude in North America. For five months the Canadian winter lays its embargo upon the navigation of the river. According to Hon. George Pemberton, of Quebec, it opens, on an average of years, "at Quebec on the 1st of May, and closes about the 28th of November."†

Against fogs and currents, dangerous shoals and channels ice-bound five months out of twelve, canals, steamships, railroads, even, are of no avail. And some or all these difficulties all the ports of British America, of the eastern seaboard, as of Canada, labor under. Do they present any advantages of shorter and quicker route?

Mr. Andrews has an interesting map prefixed to his report, showing the comparative distances between American and British ports. This map makes the distance between Quebec and Liverpool, by the Straits of Belle Isle (Labrador) and the north of Ireland, 2,680 miles; by the less arctic route of the straits between Cape Ray and Cape Breton, 2,950. The distance from New York to Liverpool is 3,073 miles, or about four hundred miles more than the first, only one hundred and twenty-three miles more than the second route from Quebec.

\* A canal, less than one mile in length, and at an estimated cost of \$225,000, is all that is required at the *Sault*.

† Andrews' Report, page 324.

Quebec to Galway.....	miles	2,700
Quebec to Galway by Belle Isle.....		2,400
Halifax to Galway.....		2,240
Halifax to Liverpool.....		2,500
Boston to Galway.....		2,600
Boston to Liverpool.....		2,856
New York to Galway.....		2,815

These are distances by the map. The following are sailing distances to Quebec and New York:—

Liverpool to New York.....	miles	3,475
Liverpool to Quebec by St. Paul's.....		3,300
Liverpool to Quebec by Belle Isle.....		3,000

These comparisons treat Quebec entirely as a seaport; so far as regards the capacity of vessels which can reach it from the sea, in summer, it is one, although 400 miles from the Gulf and more than 700 miles from the sea; but the center of production, the future if not present center of wealth and population, is west of Quebec—it is west of Montreal—it is nearer Toronto than either. We have seen that the distance from Lake Erie to Montreal is about 367 miles by the Rideau; to tide-water on the Hudson it is four miles less. By the St. Lawrence Canals it is not so great as by the Rideau. From Toronto to either point the distance is considerably less. Admitting that Toronto is equally near to Montreal as to Albany, admitting equal facility and dispatch of communication, throwing out of view the earlier closing of the St. Lawrence Canals, of the river, and of the eastern end of Lake Ontario, always the first and longest frozen over, yet the advantage of distance is still with the southern route. Freight at Albany is 150 miles from the sea, by the excellent navigation of the Hudson. Freight at Montreal has still 180 miles to go, over the shoals of the St. Lawrence, and then it is only at Quebec. Moreover, at Albany there is a choice of routes. The Western Railroad of Massachusetts is ready to place the freight in Boston in less time than it can pass the locks of the St. Lawrence Canals, and at Boston it is actually nearer Liverpool and Galway, by practical routes for regular navigation, than at Quebec. Again, there are two other American canal routes for provincial trade, the distances by which compare favorably with those by Canada. Across Lake Ontario, from Toronto and Kingston, is the harbor of Oswego, which is connected with the Erie by a canal, the business of which is growing with great rapidity. Sodus Bay, also, is about to be connected with the Erie Canal.

The Chambly Canal,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, connects the Richelieu River with Lake Champlain, which is united by the Champlain Canal, 66 miles long, with the Hudson, at Troy. Montreal, and the great timber region of the Ottawa, which enters the St. Lawrence near the city, are thus connected with the port of New York by a river, lake, and canal navigation of about 350 miles, of which less than 80 miles are by canal. The Chambly Canal is now being deepened to the depth of eight feet.

In point of distance, then, Quebec and Montreal present no advantage for the foreign trade of the Canadas over our own ports, even if we leave out of the case the ice and the fogs, the shoals and the currents, which are fatal to the regularity of packet communication. In selecting Quebec we have selected the most favorable port for the comparison of distances. The ports of the seaboard Provinces, Halifax, St. John, New Brunswick, and St. John's, Newfoundland, are doubtless less liable to the obstructions of winter; but



how will they compare in point of distance? From Halifax to Quebec the distance overland is 650 miles, and there is no canal through the wilds of Gaspé and the forests of New Brunswick.

The map must decide this question as to the best routes for the foreign trade of the Provinces. We have said that the center of Canadian wealth and trade is west of Quebec. We have seen, also, how far south the fertile region of Western Canada extends. The Atlantic coast and the St. Lawrence, running in the same general north-east direction and nearly parallel, form a belt, as it were, composed of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, the New England States, and New York. Its narrowest part is between Portland and Montreal. Of the coast, the United States own as far north as latitude 45°, while Canada West runs down to 42°. Thus this belt of American territory, stretching north and east *between* Canada and the sea, cuts off its access to the coast. The nearest point of the coast to Quebec is Portland, Maine. The distance by the railroad now in progress is 270 miles. The railroad route from Boston through Vermont is longer, as are also the more southern lines. But they all present the conclusive advantage of communicating directly with more productive districts, and of avoiding the obstructions, the delays, and the winter embargo of the St. Lawrence.

We would not undervalue the St. Lawrence. We believe that, under the Navigation Act, and by a higher law still, the laws of nature and of nations, the free navigation of that river belongs to the United States. A free egress for the immense tonnage of the Lakes is *indispensable*, and it is doubtless true in a certain sense that the free navigation of the St. Lawrence would add three thousand miles to our sea-coast, or rather turn so many miles of lake-coast into sea-coast.

But a new power, a new element, has entered into all our calculations of distances, and must affect all our conjectures as to the course and channels of trade—the railroad! Canals and steamboats, the navigation of the Lakes and rivers, are subject to the seasons. The ports of Lake Erie, Dunkirk and Buffalo, were not open before the middle of April this year, (1852.) Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario were still longer closed. But with a railroad around Lake Erie, across Lake Champlain—nay, by another Menai Suspension Bridge, across Niagara itself, and what becomes of winter's scepter? Powerless over our northern trade as the exploded colonial policy of the last century!

With what breathless rapidity have those wonderful inventions, having, by a seeming providence, for their common object the bringing of the ends of continents together into near neighborhood, and making of the whole world one nation, one society, followed one upon the other, each more wonderful, each a greater stride than the last, toward the common end! Canals, steamboats, railroads, magnetic telegraphs, crowded together in the span of one man's life! The era of canals is no sooner begun than ended. We doubt if any more great canals are constructed. Hereafter, calculations of distance will be overland; they will no longer follow the lines of water communication, natural or artificial—no more be disturbed by the seasons. Railroads have come to upset the calculations of merchant and economist. It is too soon yet—it would be visionary now—to attempt to mark out the new channels of trade, to point out the wonderful changes which will result from twenty years of the railroad system fully developed, with lines between all the chief points of trade, with double tracks upon all the main lines, with proper freight cars, with the *habit* of conveying freight by rail, fully developed.

One thing, at least, seems pretty certain, on a single glance at the map. The coast of the United States must be the commercial seaboard of the British States: Portland, Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, and New York their seaports. The railroad from Portland to Montreal is rapidly advancing. From Boston there is the line through Burlington to Montreal, across Northern New York to Ogdensburg, and by Albany to Buffalo and to Oswego. From New York there is the route by two lines of railroad through Albany to Buffalo, the route through Troy to Lake Champlain, and by the Erie Road to Dunkirk.

In Canada, a railroad is projected from Quebec to Halifax, and several routes are proposed. The distance will be about 600 miles, or 780 miles from Montreal, 1,100 miles from Toronto. Freight carried by this route to Halifax would find there, perhaps, the steamer which left New York a week after it left Canada West, but it would hardly meet that choice and variety of shipping bound for all points which crowd more southern ports in winter and summer.

A few figures will show the direction which trade is beginning to take. Mr. Andrews gives this table of custom receipts at Quebec and Montreal on imports by sea, and of receipts at inland ports :—

	Montreal and Quebec.	Inland.	Gross.
1841.....	£168,222	£57,611	£225,833
1846.....	258,249	163,966	422,215
1849.....	256,789	186,597	443,337

The measure of liberal policy pursued by Congress in the provisions for drawback and debenture made in 1846 is already having an effect upon the transit trade to and from Canada; and a recent treasury circular, we are glad to see, has given directions for facilitating the conveyance of freight from the Provinces upon the lines of railroad about to be opened.

There were received at New York from Canada in 1850 wheat and flour as follows :—

	Quantity.	Value.
Wheat.....bushels	723,487	\$504,827
Flour.....bbls.	283,018	1,033,215

In 1849 there were exported to Canada, under the drawback act, goods to the amount of \$278,017, and there were exported from warehouse, goods to the value of \$320,779.

It is always the latest statistics that exhibit most strikingly the growth of this trade, and the rapidity with which the trade with the United States is gaining ground. We give the returns for the year ending January 5, 1851, as stated by Mr. Andrews :—

Imports by sea.....	\$8,540,800
Imports from United States.....	7,404,800
Total .....	\$15,945,600
Exports by sea.....	\$7,474,496
Exports to the United States....	5,813,500
Total.....	\$13,287,996

Our exports to Spain and all her colonies in 1850 amounted to but \$9,931,240; to Brazil, to but \$3,197,114.

Of the exports to the United States, and of the imports from this country, large items are for the transit trade to and from the Provinces. But

probably two-thirds of the imports are of our own products, and a large proportion of their exports are for our consumption. In a word, it is the domestic—the home trade—which, from its amount and promise of growth, challenges our chief interest. Our exports to Canada in 1850 are said to equal the entire export to Sweden, Prussia, Holland, Portugal, and Mexico united.\* This trade must depend upon the policy which shall shape the future tariff regulations on each side of the Lakes. The Provinces have set us already the example of liberality. Their duties are much lower than ours, and they offer us Reciprocity. Why should we not give them Free Trade? The best friend, the most consistent advocate of Protection can ask no better bounty than a near and a steady market for manufactures such as the Provinces afford. Is there any advantage in that entire free trade between the States which makes us one in the unity of commercial interests, that would not also attend free trade between the United States and the States of British America?

Is anything wanting but wise legislation? Is there anything beyond the reach or control of either to prevent the adoption of the commercial policy, dictated alike by the interests of the British States and the United States?

The political position of the Provinces may be briefly stated. Here are four States with distinct governments, administered upon the principle of responsibility to the popular will, under the law. Each votes its own taxes and supplies; each enacts its own tariff; in each, trade and navigation are subject to no restrictions not imposed by itself. With each other, free trade is partially, and will soon, we think, be wholly established. Their products and shipping enter the ports of Britain on no other terms than our own; our products enter their territories with no other, no less privileges than those of Britain. Their trade, to and fro, crosses our territory with as little restriction, paying as little duty as if the territory were their own. Each Province allows entire religious freedom, recognizes no State religion; the clergy reserves are now admitted to be held for the benefit of all the leading Protestant sects. There is no local titled aristocracy, with *one or two very faint exceptions*, and there are certainly no privileged orders. The feelings, habits, modes of life, opinions of people living under like circumstances, must in the main be alike. The pioneer population of the British States and the United States are doing the same work of creating new seats of civilization, and conquering the wilderness. It is not, then, to be wondered at, that with the growth of population, the democratic, American, popular spirit (call it what you will) has penetrated the Canadas. We were much amused with the grave counsel of some English traveler, who has put his experience of pioneer life into print, to those intending to emigrate to Canada. With the rest of his advice as to where they should go and what to take with them, he solemnly counsels them to secure a good supply of national prints—the queen, the royal children, “the duke,” and Nelson’s victories, to replace the colored prints of General Taylor and Mexican battles, which are too often the ornaments of settlers’ houses! A less jealous eye would have seen in such trifles chiefly the enterprise of some Yankee peddler. Perhaps it was a jealousy excited by other causes to which they were “confirmation strong.”

The relative position of the United States and the States of British America may be summed up in a word. They stand on the footing of in-

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\* Andrews' Report, page 44.



dependent powers. They are free to choose. May they have the wisdom to choose a policy that shall give strength to that union of commercial interests which political events and legislation, natural advantages of communication and the artificial facilities furnished by enterprise and science, have been working together for the last eighty years to bring about. Why should we seek to keep asunder States which Time and Events, Nature and Science thus unmistakably join together?









The states of British America  
and the United States;



